

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMMISION NATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 0362

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GW, UR

SUBJECT: HILLENBRAND-YEFREMOV LUNCHEON, FEBRUARY 25

1. SUMMARY: AT A LUNCHEON THAT HE HOSTED FOR AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND ON FEBRUARY 25, SOVIET AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV VOICED CONSIDERABLE IMPATIENCE AT WHAT HE TERMED CONTINUED ALLIED-FRG VIOLATIONS OF THE QA. HE ISSUED A VEILED THREAT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD CEASE DELIVERING PROTEST STATEMENTS AND WOULD INSTEAD TAKE ACTION AGAINST THESE "VIOLATIONS;" HE NOTED, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT DIFFICULTIES COULD BE AVOIDED IF THE ALLIES WERE TO CONSULT WITH THE SOVIETS PRIOR TO TAKING ANY STEPS THAT COULD DISTURB THE EXISTING SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND POINTED OUT THAT THE "VIOLATIONS" CLAIMED BY THE SOVIETS WERE IN FACT NO MORE THAN A PART OF THE EXISTING SITUATION CONFIRMED BY THE QA. AND, IN RESPONSE TO THE VIELED SOVIET THREAT TO TAKE
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ACTION, URGED THAT NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS CONTINUE TO

BE USED TO RESOVLE DIFFERENCES OVER THE INTERPRETATION OF THE QA. AMBASSADOR HILLEN THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS HAVE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE THAT NEITHER WOULD UNDERMINE THE ESSENTIALS OF THE QA, AND ASSURED YEFREMOV THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NOT ENDORSE ANY PROPOSAL OR ACTION THAT THEY CONSIDERED INCOMPATIBLE WITH A REASONABLE INTERPRETATION OF THE AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY:

2. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV OPENED THE POST-LUNCHEON CONVERSATION BY COMMENTING, SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUSLY AS IT TURNED OUT, THAT HE HAD NO PROBLEMS OR QUESTIONS TO RAISE WITH AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND AND WISHED MERELY TO DISCUSS WITH HIM SOVIET DESIRES AND THOUGHTS REGARDING BERLIN. IN A PRELIMINARY REMARK, YEFREMOV SAID THAT IT WAS THE AIM OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TO PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., BUT THAT AN OBSTACLE HAD BEEN RAISED TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS AIM BY THE INCLUSION OF UNACCEPTABLE PROVISIONS IN THE TRADE BILL RECENTLY PASSED BY CONGRESS. AFTER CAUTIONING THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT BE PRESSURED IN A "DICTATORIAL" MANNER, YEFREMOV STRESSED THAT BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT THE U.S. IN PARTICULAR, STOOD TO GAIN SIGNIFICANTLY BY AN EXPANSION OF THEIR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. HE WAS CONFIDENT, HE SAID, THAT THE ERRORS OF THE TRADE BILL WOULD IN FACT SOON BE CORRECTED. IT WAS AN "EPISODE." AFTER COMMENTING ON OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND POINTED OUT THAT THE FEATURES OF THE TRADE BILL CONSIDERED OFFENSIVE BY THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN INSERTED AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THAT THE VIEWS OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEEN PUBLICLY STATED.

3. TURNING TO BERLIN MATTERS, AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV UNDERScored THE VALUE OF THE QA TO BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THE ALLIES AS AN AGREEMENT THAT TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, THE WESTERN SIDE, IN SPITE OF REPEATED SOVIET WARNINGS, HAD SOUGHT UNILATERALLY TO REVISE THE AGREEMENT THROUGH SUCH THINGS AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENVIORMENTAL AGENCY AND THE EC VOCATIONAL CENTER AND CONFIDENTIAL

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THROUGH THE APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ AS PLENIPTENTIARY FOR CULTURAL MATTERS UNDER THE FRANCO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY. THE SOVIETS, YEFREMOV STRESSED, WERE GETTING SICK AND TIRED OF MAKING PROTEST STATEMENTS, AND FELT THAT IT WAS NOT TIME TO TAKE ACTION. THE CHINESE MIGHT BE CONTENT TO ISSUE A THOUSAND WARNINGS, BUT THE SOVIETS WERE OF A DIFFERENT METTLE AND WOULD PROBABLY NOT EVEN GET AS HIGH AS TEN. (YEFREMOV

REFERRED TO THE THOUSAND CHINESE WARNINGS FOUR TIMES DURING THE CONVERSATION.)

4. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND POINTED OUT THAT THE SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF "VIOLATIONS" YEFREMOV HAD CITED FELL INTO DIFFERENT CATEGORIES, AND SAID THAT HE PRESUMED THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE ALLIED POSITION IN EACH CASE. AS FAR AS THE EC VOCATIONAL CENTER WAS CONCERNED, YEFREMOV WAS SURELY AWARE THAT BERLIN HAD BEEN INCLUDED WITHIN THE SPHERE OF ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNITY EVER SINCE THE TAKING-OVER OF THE TREATY OF ROME IN 1957, A GOOD FIFTEEN YEARS PRIOR TO THE SIGNATURE OF THE QA. THE WESTERN ASSUMPTION IN CONCLUDING THIS AGREEMENT HAD BEEN THAT EXISTING PRACTICES WERE THEREBY CONFIRMED EXCEPT INSOFAR AS THEY WERE CONTRARY TO SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND NOTED THAT THE QA WAS, LIKE ALL DIPLOMATIC INSTRUMENTS, NECESSARILY IMPERFECT; IT REPRESENTED A BALANCE OF INTERESTS, EMBODIED MUTUAL CONCESSIONS, AND CONTAINED SOME LANGUAGE THAT WAS NOT CRYSTAL CLEAR AND HENCE OPEN TO DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS. WHAT WAS NEEDED IN ORDER TO MAKE IT WORK WAS MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND TRUST. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE THREE POWERS OCCUPYING THE WESTERN SECTORS WERE VERY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO ACCEPT ANY PROPOSALS THAT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO A REASONABLE INTERPRETATION OF THE QA. HE HAD THE IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR HAD BECOME HYPER-SENSITIVE TO DEVELOPMENTS THAT SEEMED TO THEM TO FORM A GENERAL PATTERN OF VIOLATION OF THE QA, AND DID NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT TRUST IN THE READINESS OF THE ALLIES TO FORESTALL ANY SUCH TREND THAT WOULD BE DESTRUCTIVE OF THE ESSENTIALS OF THE AGREEMENT. HE COULD ASSURE THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR THAT WHENEVER THE ALLIES PERMITTED

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CERTAIN ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN THE WESTERN SECTORS, IT WAS ALWAYS IN THE BELIEF THAT THESE WERE CONSISTENT WITH THE QA.

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5. IN RESPONSE TO YEFREMOV'S VEILED THREAT TO "TAKE ACTION," AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND POINTED OUT THAT PAST CONFRONTATIONS OVER BERLIN HAD SETTLED NOTHING, AND THAT ON THE CONTRARY ONE OF THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE RECENT PERIOD OF EAST-WEST DETENTE HAD BEEN THE MORE PERMANENT AND ORGANIZED BASIS FOR DEALING WITH BERLIN PROBLEMS THAT THE QA HAD PROVIDED. THE QA WAS BOTH OF INTRINSIC PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE AND OF SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE FOR DETENTE, AND IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN IT. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT IT WAS FULLY TO BE EXPECTED THAT DIFFERENCES OF INTERPRETATION WOULD ARISE FROM SO COMPLEX A DOCUMENT; HOWEVER, THESE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE ADDRESSED AND RESOLVED WITHIN THE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AND DISCUSSION OF THEM SHOULD BE KEPT AT A REASONABLE LEVEL. THE AMBASSADOR REPEATED HIS ASSURANCE THAT THE ALLIES WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THEIR ACTIONS WERE COMPATIBLE WITH THE QA, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT CONSIDER "PRESENT HAPPENINGS" AS PART OF AN EFFORT TO UNDERMINE THE QA.

6. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE CONCURRED IN MUCH OF WHAT AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND HAD SAID. HE POINTED OUT,

HOWEVER, THAT THE QA HAD CONFIRMED ONLY WHAT HAD ALREADY BEEN IN EXISTENCE AT THE TIME OF ITS CONCLUSION, NOT WHATEVER MIGHT EMERGE IN THE FUTURE. SPECIFICALLY, THE SOVIETS HAD NOT CONFIRMED THE EXISTENCE OF AN EC PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV AGREED THAT THERE COULD BE DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE QA, BUT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT ALLIED AND FRG ACTIONS THAT DEVIATED FROM ITS "GENERAL LINE." YEFREMOV EMPHASIZED ONCE MORE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT, LIKE THE CHINESE, CONTINUE MERELY TO MAKE STATEMENTS AND ISSUE WARNINGS, AND HE POINTED OUT THAT THEY HAD THE MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL TO COUNTERACT VIOLATIONS OF THE QA. HE WAS HIMSELF A "MAN OF ACTION." HE WAS ALSO BORED WITH PROTEST.

7. THE SOVIET UNION, YEFREMOV CONTINUED, WAS QUITE PREPARED TO ALLOW WEST BERLIN TO LIVE AND PROSPER AND HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THOSE TIES WITH THE FRG--FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES, CLOSE BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS, SPORTS AND CULTURAL CONTACTS--THAT HAD EXISTED PRIOR TO THE SIGNING OF THE QA. THESE WERE PRACTICES THAT HAD BEEN ENDORSED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW INSTITUTIONS THAT WERE BEING ESTABLISHED IN WEST BERLIN WERE NOT PART OF THE "EXISTING SITUATION" AND WERE NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE DEFINITION OF "DEVELOPMENT OF TIES." YEFREMOV SUGGESTED THAT FUTURE DIFFICULTIES MIGHT BE AVOIDED IF THE ALLIES WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH THE SOVIETS ANY NEW INSTITUTIONS THAT WERE TO BE ESTABLISHED IN WEST BERLIN. THE SOVIETS WERE NOT INSISTING ON SHARING IN THE DECISION PROCESS, BUT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE ALLIES WOULD CONSULT THE SOVIETS PRIOR TO TAKING ANY FINAL RESOLUTION. IN CONCLUSION, YEFREMOV SAID THAT HE WAS SIMPLY SEARCHING FOR WAYS IN WHICH TO AVOID FURTHER PROTEST STATEMENTS AND TO WORK IN A FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ALLIES. IF WARNINGS WERE NOT ENOUGH, HE SAID, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE RUSSIAN STORY ABOUT THE BEAR BEING HARASSED BY BEES AND FORCED TO LASH OUT MIGHT BE RELEVANT.

8. IN A FINAL REFERENCE TO THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE EC VOCATIONAL CENTER, AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID THAT HE COULD HARDLY BELIEVE THAT IT WAS THE SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF THE QA THAT NO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION HAD THE RIGHT TO ESTABLISH A BRANCH IN THE WESTERN SECTORS. IF UNESCO OR ILO WISHED TO ESTABLISH AN AGENCY HERE, WOULD THIS BE A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT? THE EC, AFTER ALL, WAS AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION LIKE THESE. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND STRESSED THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN THE INTENTION OF THE QA TO PREVENT ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS

IN BERLIN, AS LONG AS THESE DID NOT AFFECT THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE CITY AS DEFINED IN THE AGREEMENT. THE EC VOCATIONAL CENTER COULD SCARCELY BE CONSIDERED AS HAVING ANY SUCH EFFECT.

9. AMBASSADOR YEFREMOV RESPONDED THAT THIS CENTER DID NOT EXIST PRIOR TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE QA, AND THAT ITS ESTABLISHMENT NOW REPRESENTED A "STEPPING-AWAY" FROM EXISTING PRACTICES. AS SUCH, IT WAS A SUBJECT TO BE DISCUSSED AMONG THE SIGNATORIES OF THE AGREEMENT. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AGAIN URGED ALLIED-SOVIET CONSULTATIONS ON IMPENDING PROPOSALS AS A MEANS OF AVOIDING FUTURE COMPLICATIONS.

10. YEFREMOV DID NOT RAISE THE SUBJECT OF CELEBRATIONS TO COMMEMORATE THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY, AND HOPEFULLY HE HAS GIVEN UP ON THIS PET PROJECT. GEORGE

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